

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 /073 W
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R 281415Z JAN 75

FM AMCONSUL DURBAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1901

INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

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CAPE TOWN ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SF

SUBJECT: BUTHELEZI EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT WITH CAPE TOWN
MEETING AND CALLS ON URBAN AFRICANS TO TAKE
INITIATIVE

REF: CAPE TOWN 101; DURBAN 184, 16 MAY 74

SUMMARY: ON RETURN TO DURBAN JANUARY 23 FROM CAPE TOWN
CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI EXPRESSED DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT WITH
JANUARY 22 HOMELAND LEADERS' DISCUSSION WITH PRIME MINISTER.
HE REITERATED HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT "CRUMBS" FROM PRIME MINISTER'S
TABLE AND IN STRONG SPEECH BEFORE THOUSAND ZULUS IN DURBAN
AFRICAN TOWNSHIP OF UMLAZI DECLARED URBAN AFRICANS MUST NOW
TAKE INITIATIVE IN CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

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1. AT JANUARY 23 AIRPORT NEWS CONFERENCE AND SUBSEQUENT

"REPORT BACK" MEETING IN LARGE DURBAN AFRICAN TOWNSHIP OF UMLAZI (NOW TECHNICALLY PART OF KWAZULU) CHIEF BUTHELEZI EXPRESSED KEEN DISAPPOINTMENT WITH OUTCOME OF HOMELAND LEADERS' DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER. REACTING TO FAILURE OF TALKS, IN HIS VIEW, TO PRODUCE ANY MAJOR CONCESSIONS, BUTHELEZI TWICE DECLARED HE "NO LONGER PREPARED TO ACCEPT CRUMBS FROM PHAROAH'S TABLE." INITIATIVE, HE INSISTED, NOW RESTED WITH HOMELAND LEADERS TO CONSULT WITH THEIR PEOPLE TO DEVISE TACTICS TO INDUCE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

2. THE TALKS, BUTHELEZI OPINED, FAILED TOUCH FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES. AT POINT WHEN DISCUSSION TURNED FRANK, MINISTER BANTU AFFAIRS M.C. BOTHA ALLEGEDLY STATED HIS "GOVERNMENT DID NOT WANT HOMELAND LEADERS TO SPEAK SO FRANKLY TO HIM." BUTHELEZI EMPHASIZED CURT MANNER WITH WHICH PRIMIN DEALT WITH QUESTION OF AFRICAN UNIONS (LEAVING LITTLE ROOM FOR OPTIMISM) AND HIS CATEGORICAL CLOSING OF DOOR TO BLACK REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT. PRIMIN REPORTEDLY DECLARED, WITH GREAT EMOTION, AS LONG AS NATIONALISTS IN POWER AFRICANS WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO "CROSS STREET TO PARLIAMENT." WHILE SAYING THIS, PRIMIN POINTED AT HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ACROSS STREET.

3. NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF BUTHELEZI'S REMARKS END AT THIS POINT, BUT RELIABLE INFORMANT HAS TOLD CONGEN BUTHELEZI CONTINUED SPEECH AT UMLAZI BY SUGGESTING TWO POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION FOR URBAN AFRICANS TO CONSIDER TO SECURE CHANGES IN THEIR CONDITION: A DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN (PASSIVE RESISTANCE) MODELLED ON EARLIER EFFORTS OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OR BRIEF GENERAL STRIKE. BUTHELEZI PROMISED AUDIENCE HE AND KWAZULU CABINET WOULD HOLD SERIES MEETINGS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF COUNTRY TO ELICIT GUIDANCE FROM URBAN AFRICANS AS TO APPROPRIATE COURSE TO FOLLOW IN FUTURE.

4. COMMENT: WE CONCUR WITH EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT (CAPE TOWN 101) THAT, AT PRESENT TIME, BUTHELEZI'S INTENTIONS INSCRUTABLE. IF HIS REMARKS AT UMLAZI ACCURATELY REPORTED, THIS PERIOD MAY NEVERTHELESS MARK A WATERSHED IN BUTHELEZI'S POLITICAL CAREER. BUTHELEZI HAS BEEN UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE IN LAST YEAR FROM BOTH YOUNG BLACK RADICALS WHO CHARGE HIM WITH "SELLING OUT" TO SAG AND FROM SAG WHICH HAS MADE AT LEAST ONE MAJOR EFFORT TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PROMOTE OPPOSITION TO HIM WITHIN KWAZULU. (DURBAN 184) NO DOUBT MANY OF HIS APPARENT SWINGS FROM CONSERVATIVE TO MORE RADICAL STANCE, AND VICE VERSA, ARE REFLEXIVE AND REFLECT HIS PERSONAL SENSITIVITY TO CRITICISM FROM WHATEVER QUARTER. HOWEVER, HIS INCONSISTENCIES ALSO REFLECT, WE BELIEVE, DILEMMA IN WHICH HE FINDS HIMSELF: HE IS BASICALLY NOT A RADICAL BUT IS INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED WITH HIS INABILITY TO REALIZE ANY MEANINGFUL POSITIVE CHANGES FOR HIS PEOPLE. IN THIS CONTEXT, HIS

MEMORANDUM SHOULD BE CONSTRUED AS A "FRIENDLY WARNING," BUT A WARNING NEVERTHELESS, TO A GOVERNMENT WHOSE PENCHANT FOR SELECTIVELY PERCEIVING REALITY IS SO WELL ILLUSTRATED BY M.C. BOTHA' STATEMENT REFERRED TO ABOVE. AS A RESULT OF WHAT HE CLEARLY INTERPRETS AS A DEADLOCK IN CAPE TOWN, BUTHELEZI MAY NOW SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO FOLLOWING A MORE ACTIVIST AND RADICAL COURSE THAN HERETOFORE.
HOLMES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL CONCESSIONS, SPEECHES, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975DURBAN00033
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750031-0965
From: DURBAN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750115/aaaaandf.tel
Line Count: 123
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 CAPE TOWN 101, 75 DURBAN 184, 75 16, 75 MAY 74
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 JUN 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <26 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BUTHELEZI EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT WITH CAPE TOWN MEETING AND CALLS ON URBAN AFRICANS TO TAKE
TAGS: PINT, SF, (VORSTER, BALTHAZAR JOHANNES), (BUTHELEZI, GATSHI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006